/627 cont./
must be fulfilled. We refer, first of all, to the regulations and customs that apply to a marriage contract. The important position of the woman in the economy assures her position within the family equal to that of the man. It is the strict social duty of every individual family, apart from any purely natural compulsion, to rear the children according to the prevailing principles and the established social aims. Beyond that, as a continuation and supplement of family rearing, the tribe or group also offers the young people at the time of maturity a community education in the youth initiation. There are many good reasons why this ceremony /628/ should be discussed in this section, although it is derived from the realm of religious ideas. In nothing else among the Yamana does the primitive state manifest itself so clearly as in the youth initiation, and it functions beyond the narrow legal boundaries of the family, exercising its own rights.

Several families are naturally associated through blood ties, but only loosely, and the reciprocal obligations growing out of this are the kind universally found among human beings. Five dialect groups have been established as associations of larger proportions, but these cannot be regarded as a division based on social principles (p. 199 /untranslated/). Moreover, there is no hierarchy based on birth and station, nor are there class differences which elsewhere rest on accomplishments or property. Finally, unification of the entire tribal community under a single head, such as a chief or magistrate, priest or sorcerer, did not take place among our Indians.

There are ancient tribal customs with the force of legal obligations, as well as definite principles about possessions and property, and the public sees to it that they are faithfully followed. It also observes and practices the cultivation of the universally familiar tribal virtues. Crimes against the assured duration of the family or against related groups are settled in smaller or larger combats. Although there is no special social division and no appointment of an authoritative person to rule the community, there is a distinct and binding power embracing all members of the tribe -- namely, the state, no matter how weak and undefined it still appears in its earliest beginnings.

/693 cont./

182 Primitive people in such an unfavorable environment as that around Cape Horn cannot deviate very much from the norms of life imposed by nature if they are to survive as a people. Actually the marital arrangements of our Fuegians, including polygamy which is occasionally permitted and the obligation to marry widows, strike one as quite self-explanatory and natural, hence also as homely and appealing. Bridges' opinion after decades of experience as a missionary carries greater weight than other judgments, and he (i):21 summarized it in the following very terse, but truly comprehensive words: "On the whole, the family life was happy and correct" /cited in English/.

B. Parents and Child

594 The nature of the economy, which is the only kind possible in the Cape Horn region, forces our Fuegians to split up into individual families, each one devoting itself independently to the quest for food. Hence, day after day, the parents and their children are dependent on their own resources. Although the daily work of the Yamana family is more diversified than that of the neighboring Selk'nam, a great deal of unavoidable monotony is connected with it. It is of inestimable spiritual value, as well as almost an indispensable necessity, for every family to have several children, who not only form a tie that unites the two parents, but also contribute a great deal to their mental enrichment and spiritual stimulation. No wonder that the longing for a child is so strong that a couple cannot live, so to speak, without it, and that the care and treatment of the child reveal a love that cannot be intensified. Even in their parental happiness, however, adults do not let themselves be blinded or diverted from the strict duty of a firm upbringing that one must describe not only as good, but even as stern. All parents, with the exception of a few who have defective personal tendencies, devote themselves conscientiously to this upbringing to the best of their abilities and with a view to the child's welfare.

•861 Profound observation and careful research have brought to light principles and techniques which put their efforts at child

/693 cont./

•861 rearing in an unexpectedly favorable light and which reveal our much misunderstood Yamana as sensitive experts in all matters pertaining to a child. An opportunity to appreciate their mastery of child-rearing skills is provided by clear insight concerning the youth initiation ceremony which I was twice /694/ privileged to experience and which I shall describe in detail below. In the principles for the treatment of the maturing generation, a good deal of unadulterated practical philosophy and sound child-rearing wisdom from the remote past has been preserved to this day among the much misunderstood primitive people of frosty Tierra del Fuego.

a. The Infant and Its Care

124 The sensitivity of the people and delicate consideration for the mother impel them to conceal as far as possible from the eyes of the men a new citizen's entrance into the world and his care during the first few days of his life. Hence the following details were not personally observed, but were given to me by women. I gladly admit that greater completeness would have been possible, but probably nothing important is missing in the following lines, except perhaps one or another minor detail that they did not wish to mention to me because of a natural feeling of delicacy. In any case, nothing has changed in modern times in the treatment of infants. Only the pieces of fur formerly used as covers are now replaced by European rags which have very much increased the lack of cleanliness in the child's sleeping place.

854 A European would superficially describe many of their customs as unhygienic and senseless, but on closer observation he might recognize a great deal of purposefulness and empirical wisdom. Travelers of former times saw the tender, solicitous care of Fuegian children by adults so clearly and in such vivid detail that they did not hide their astonishment. Their observations correspond exactly with what everyone can still find today. Therefore, no one should be surprised if all the details in the following account seem brightly and kindly illuminated by the warm glow of genuine parental love for the always welcome child.

/735 cont./

856 and asks one or the other of these soft-bodied animals: "Give /736/ me the best you have for this tooth!" The child may also toss his other milk teeth into the sea in the same way, but he is obliged to do so only with the first loose milk tooth.

855 During the further development manifested by the child, not
856 only his own parents, but to an almost equal extent the relatives and neighbors experience great satisfaction. Again and again they speak about it and happily measure the progress shown by the child since last they were together. In their indescribable happiness, they adorn their favorite with necklaces, give him tasty morsels, sometimes pet him wildly, and spend hours playing with him. The adults in Tierra del Fuego would find life unbearable if they did not constantly have small children around them, who, far more than grown children, are a natural and necessary plaything for all parents and a strong magnet for their parental feelings (177).

[171]

177. I have purposely not mentioned similarities of insignificant details in infant care among the Selk'nam and Yamana, because there are too many. The close cultural relationship between the two tribes is shown in this respect also.

b. The Older Child and His Upbringing

●861 With the exception of a few letters from Anglican missionaries, one looks in vain in the earlier accounts for detailed reports about the physical maturation of the child and the influence of the adults in his environment who train him. This is all the more regrettable since these much misunderstood Fuegians have surprisingly valuable child-rearing principles -- taking into consideration merely what I myself have discovered -- and, as competent teachers, know how to apply these principles successfully. The older people have preserved in their memories all that our Yamana do for the growing generation, or at least the principal outline, to this day. Hence the following account

/736 cont./
•861 is based chiefly on repeated discussions with reliable informants about earlier customs. Nevertheless, I also learned much through direct observation, which was confirmed by the other, oral accounts.

Under present conditions educational influence and the sure guidance of youth are simply no longer possible to the extent that they were practiced in the old days. Parents cannot shield their children against the pernicious influences that have recently asserted themselves. It must be said in honor of the few old tribal members that, for their part, they sincerely regret and are painfully aware that they no longer can freely and without officious interference give their young people those educational benefits that /737/ they themselves regard as so auspicious and so advantageous for them throughout their lives.

861 Since there is no definite tribal organization, the training
881 process naturally rests on the shoulders of the parents themselves. True, when the children have reached puberty they must submit to the youth initiation which is basically a common schooling, but which actually represents a continuation of the parental efforts in the narrowest family circle. Everything that was accomplished at home in the way of instruction and actual training is intensified in the youth initiation, čiéxaus, but is kept within the same channel, following unchanging guiding principles.

145 Finally, I should like to refer briefly to the various periods in the development of the child's body. During my journey there were no longer enough children for me to make reliable observations; hence I could not clearly prove the stages of development set up by Stratz:134. Nevertheless, I found that, just as there is an initial plumpness in the so-called first period of childhood, the so-called first growth in height definitely begins with the fifth year. Then comes the second plumpness with the first phase of the second period, whereupon there is an apparent pause in development, only to lead, toward the end of the fourteenth year, to a sudden and quick unfolding of fully developed forms. Among the girls more than among boys, it is surprising to see how much the body fills out in this one year (178).

178. Stirling (MM:VI, 96;1872) was the first to emphasize this startling fact. This does

/741 cont./

857 entertain themselves excludes noise and uproar. They also have less opportunity to play together, because mothers have them care for younger brothers and sisters, and they also know better than boys how to entertain themselves. With their own kind girls talk remarkably little, but they observe their companions all the more and silently compete with each other in their pursuits.

864 Children are probably encouraged to stay aloof from the opposite sex by the conduct of adults. The latter unquestionably behave perfectly in front of children and in conversation and conduct consciously avoid everything that might give offense.

2. Application of Training

•861 In spite of all the love that parents have for their children, there is no room for pampering and indulging them. Even the newborn infant feels the rigors of existence, and later on the child is never aware of all the careful arrangements and comforts that are practically taken for granted in a European nursery. The Yamana are simply destined to live in an unfriendly environment with remorseless demands for daily existence; they have no illusions about it and do not prejudice their children against the reality in which they are placed and which they will have to combat for the rest of their lives.

Instead of idly looking on and letting growth take its unhampered course, they intercede as teachers in the development of their children's spiritual life, directing their mental powers toward a specific goal and tirelessly exerting their influence in that direction. They are guided by sound principles, and gratifying results crown their efforts. I have often regretted that I was unable to investigate more closely by means of personal observation how these Fuegian teachers achieved the results that I discovered with admiration in a few aged representatives of the original Indian race. They are a living embodiment /742/ of child-rearing principles and parental efforts on behalf of young people who are to move forward along the same paths trodden by many generations before them. This training has secured the orderly perpetuation of the entire tribe throughout the centuries and is adequately protecting it even up to the present time.

/742 cont./

a. The Teachers

861 Nature itself has given a child its parents as teachers; who else would the Yamana have, with their entire tribe broken up into individual families. Aware that they must meet an obligation imposed by nature, the parents instinctively recognize a certain child-rearing ideal toward which their efforts tend. The child should become "a good and useful human being!" That is their watchword, which they repeat again and again. It expresses the double task of the teacher, namely, to form the child in accordance with his spiritual and temperamental nature and to train him for the everyday demands of life. Their first consideration is that everyone must stand on his own feet; hence he must be reared to become an independent personality, able to conduct himself according to rules and to maintain himself singlehanded. Everyone who has reached maturity soon founds a family; he must therefore have the character and manual skills required to maintain this most important and only social institution and to lead it in its significant tasks. Finally, he is a member of a tribal community to which he is all the more bound because it is small, for here any great deviation from the general trend by the individual brings about more perceptible effects on the group as a whole than would be the case in a larger group. The teacher wishes to make his charge capable of meeting all these demands, and that is what he means when he says he wants to make of him "a good and useful human being."

861 183 The child-rearing ideal proves to be unequivocally moral, and in its application to any given circumstance it is summed up in the words: "As is customary among us!" The example of their ancestors, custom, and traditional usage are their criteria; if there is any doubt about an act, it is judged and evaluated on the basis of these factors. Hence the teachers find it simple and easy to do justice to their task, for they need only adhere to what has always been regarded as valid and legal, good and fine.

Since everyone stands or falls with the supporting group as a whole, it is vital for him to protect the group's existence with new, properly prepared members who will sooner or later reach

/742 cont./

861 183 adult status. That is why all older people regard /743/ the training of youth as an obligation, and no one shies away from it out of laziness. The adults influence the young people by means of instruction and admonition, at least by setting a good example, and they are solicitous about their physical well-being and the perfection of their character and morals. No one -- with the exception of a few who are remiss in their duties -- tires of always exerting his best efforts to make the child a valuable member of the tribe, one who will benefit the group as a whole. Since this was always customary among their ancestors, responsible adults now make no exceptions with regard to this duty, for ancient custom is to this day their law.

861 Since Nature herself has established the parents as the first qualified teachers, they devote themselves to their task with all their love and ability. They are guided by their concern for the welfare of their child. Anyone who is skilled in all kinds of manual work can easily make a living, and a person who knows how to behave and adopts a way of life that will make him liked by all his neighbors is in a pleasant position. Parental pride also spurs them on a bit, for it is a great satisfaction to everyone to have his children praised as industrious and good. Less clearly than for the celebration of the youth initiation, but definitely [716] enough, conscientious parents are charged by Hidāʉan, their only deity, with the duty of rearing their children. For primitive people like our Yamana, there is no stronger pressure for efforts at guidance than religious sanction.

Besides the parents, adults in general are required to promote the training of all children, with less urgency, however. If the former neglect their duty or have died, the nearest relatives are obliged to offer the poor child what he needs without any formalities. In fact, every person, whoever he may be, is obliged to give a child help whenever it is needed and to deal with a bad deed wherever he may observe it. No Yamana would say, "This or that child is no concern of mine." He feels an urgent need to help if he sees that a child is suffering physical injury or that its training is being neglected. The individual adult acts on behalf of the child from a feeling of tribal solidarity and in the service of the general welfare. More often than a European realizes, he openly expresses these considerations upon which he acts.

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•861 626 Finally, and no less earnestly, it is the concern of the larger group or the whole tribe that the training by the family produces good results. Hence, in the form of public opinion, it supervises the efforts that the father and mother expend on their own children; it admonishes and criticizes the parents, usually through their relatives, if they neglect the training of their offspring; it continues their efforts through the youth initiation and concludes the work of family training by means of community training in the /744/ čiɛ́yaŋ. The whole tribe likewise strives for that much emphasized child-rearing ideal which our simple and yet so understanding Fuegians proclaim as the watchword of their earnest efforts, namely, that they want to make each of their children "a good and useful human being."

B. Training Practices

867 Not every adult has a particular aptitude for rearing his child. Some people, however, are so effective at this work that their influence is felt far beyond the narrow family circle and produces good results there as well. What one adult lacks in this talent is compensated for by another, and it must be appreciated as an extraordinarily fortunate virtue of the Yamana that almost every person, especially the older ones, influences children. Precepts and admonitions are, of course, the most important aspect. In content and form they are adapted to the awakening reason and the developing judgment of young people. For smaller children the Yamana are content to use a brief command or prohibition; it is only for the older ones that they add a reason.

"Your behavior is not nice."

"If you lie, no one will like you."

"Tackle every job, decisively and with enthusiasm, then you will quickly finish it."

"Always get up promptly in the morning; for if you lie abed until the sun is high, you will not finish your day's work."

"If you are called to do a piece of work, get up immediately and do it quickly, then you will grow fast" (181).

181. It is only out of great ignorance that

/745 cont./

867 If there are clear indications of weakness of character in a child, the parents and adults call attention to it, with a view /746/ to combining their skill in influencing the child. Outsiders make a greater effort if the child's own parents do not treat it properly or even have a detrimental effect by their bad example. Calderon's sons get on everybody's nerves because they are troublesome and lazy ne'er-do-wells, and people explain it by pointedly referring to the boys' father whose character they reflect. Sympathy for a child who has been spoiled through no fault of his own constantly impels neighbors to work patiently and perserveringly for his improvement. This individual training of a single child is later consciously carried further in the youth initiation, and particular exercises are specially adapted to the respective need.

867 Our Yamana do not rest content with dry instruction and
861 colorless indoctrination; they assure themselves of success by the purposeful application of a few effective measures. Above all they titillate the child's love of self and his ambition. This, in turn, shows convincingly how definitely and palpably they make arrangements to suit the child's comprehension. We add here a few admonitions to the list given above.

"Be willing to help, then everybody will praise you and speak well of you."

"If you keep yourself clean and immaculate, others will be happy to visit you and will gladly associate with you."

"Give other people good and beautiful things as presents; they will speak of you far and wide and surprise you, too, with choice presents."

"Be silent and do not repeat derogatory things about a person to others. The person will be grateful that you did not expose him to gossip, and everybody who learns about it [about your discretion] will put his trust in you."

I obtained the last two sentences from Mary. Similar admonitions are repeated to the candidates for the youth initiation and to girls on the occasion of the menarche.

861 If these gentle measures do not suffice, definite and serious threats follow; from the latter to actual punishment is only a short step. If children are noisy around the huts and do not go away after the first appeal, a stick of wood hurled in their

/746 cont./

direction soon scatters them. Anyone who does not get up in the morning after a vigorous shake has his leather cover pulled off so that he lies naked and soon gets up because of the cold. If a few rascals disturb the conversation of adults by their chatter or if they even presume to interrupt, they are sent out of the hut with a few sharp words. A child with the habit of being obtrusive at meals is dismissed with an inferior piece while the other people enjoy delectable tidbits. No occasion irritates adults as much as when they happen to come upon a boy hidden with a girl. Then rude blows rain down /747/ on the little sinner, either with the flat of the hand or a stick of wood, wherever and however they happen to fall, until he seeks refuge in hasty flight (183).

183. The Fuegian punishes the child to make it pay for its mistake. Bridges' interpretation of April 21, 1875, is wrong: "The native never punishes his child because he has done wrong, but because he has troubled him, or to please those who may be angry with him, or he expresses his vexation towards any who have displeased him by wreaking it upon his innocent child" /cited in English/ (Mbl XX, 214;1878).

After that the adults keep a sharp eye on him.

The severest punishment for the child is to have its parents send it away or make it leave the hut. Hot tears flow amid loud sobbing, until finally, after the prolonged torture of loneliness, the little culprit is called into another woman's hut where he is left to himself without the least encouragement. On the following day or even earlier he slips back to the parental hut, ashamed and fearful, and crouches quietly by himself to avoid provocation for renewed banishment. If the punishment is combined with loud scolding on the part of the parents, as happens on rare occasions, the little rogue seems weak with shame which he is unable to conceal for days.

[748] The adults now and then weave references to Hoffnung into their teachings. I was definitely amazed at this, but unfortunately I did not write down the exact words.

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84 The success of this training is ensured to large part because it is adapted basically to the individual, and there is no mass instruction, even during the [illegible] celebration. Instruction or correction is given in any specific instance according to the child's personal talents, its obvious shortcomings and weaknesses, and its highly individual ungainliness. "The teacher there does not forget which methods the child reacts to most favorably. In one case loud scolding, in another the withholding of food or a more pleading tone in the discussion of mistakes will bring results far more quickly than whippings or shutting a child up in the hut. I could cite many definite cases to illustrate all this" (Gwinde [5]:168), which I cannot list separately here.

84 As I have explained earlier (p. 181), it is not customary among the Tamana to give their children special instruction on the so-called facts of life at any age. Although adults are extraordinarily careful in sexual intercourse since there are almost always children present in the hut, nevertheless the children observe many things that make them think. They finally become quite fully informed from what they see. They are never told where new babies come from; in fact, as long as they are small, they are fooled with a "stork story."

When the midwife carries the newborn child in her arms, she joyfully shows /748/ it to its brothers and sisters and to other children who are in the vicinity. She says: "I have a little child here. Didn't you hear a little while ago that a baby was crying over there [she points with her head or finger in some direction]? Of course it cried very softly because it is still very small. I went over there and found the little baby. Here it is!" And again she shows it around. Some lively child will say naively: "Yes, I heard the little baby crying, too!" Whereupon the woman answers: "Well, that was this little baby that I'm carrying in my arms. I have fetched it!" Then a child will perhaps ask: "Where did I come from?" The woman will answer: "You came from over there [she points to some place]. X-diye [she mentions the name of a woman who was perhaps present at the birth of the child asking the question] found you there and brought you to the hut!" Satisfied with this information, the child will talk with other children and tell them

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that "girls and boys are required to take part in the work at an early age."

V. Results of the Training

Daily one is confronted to me: "Adults worked on a child long enough and forcefully enough to convince themselves that he would become a good and industrious human being!" It can be said without exaggeration that, throughout, the Tarahumara have fulfilled their general duties and this must be regarded as a favorable result of their training. Although many vicious outside influences have very much undermined the strictness of the old customs, constitution, even up to the present time, almost everyone is more or less punctilious about the things he regards as just and good and proper. They are especially concerned that their children should be favorably influenced and well brought up. Although today some mature women tend to be somewhat slovenly, yet the group as a whole puts restrictions on youth now as before in order to make it impossible for them to transgress seriously. The fact that, despite grave hindrances, the youth institution has not been entirely given up proves better than words how much the seriousness of child-rearing in former times is still preserved to this day.

If one surveys the individual child-rearing principles that are obviously emphasized in the [illegible], he is amazed at their extraordinary soundness. They have been tested during centuries of application and have proved themselves successful for many generations. The parents act as natural educators, and the group as a whole supports them. Love for the child and excellent patience are virtues which will probably never be lacking among the Tarahumara in training their children. Education will always be individual and will aim for the perfection of soul and character in the child, as well as the development of manual skill. Among those much despised Tarahumara one would scarcely suspect so much educative wisdom as is revealed in their admonitions, which, moreover, are couched in such brief and concise statements!

/783/ Even the best human arrangements sometimes fail, not, however, because they themselves are faulty. If there have actually been a few failures in training, the system itself is not immediately responsible, but rather the unfortunate nature of the child or the detrimental influence of outside forces. Calderon, who, on account of his unfortunate nature, disregards the tried and true principles, is probably the best example of how far a person can deviate from the ideal of the Israelites. He thinks he is better than other men and enjoys many advantages because he is Fred Lawrence's brother-in-law. He therefore disregards the warnings and advice of well-meaning fellow-citizens. The consequence is his offensive laziness, which often causes his wife and children to suffer hunger. If he is drunk and in a bad humor, as he often is, he beats them without sufficient reason; usually he lacks the most essential implements, and the ones he has are not in order. We must really regard his two boys as spoiled children. They lounge about among other people, are impudent and rude, very unkempt in appearance, and never available to help anyone. How often have upright elders expressed their regret over this negligent family and said again and again: "In former times no man would have been allowed to become so negligent; at least his wife and children would have been taken away from him and put in better circumstances!"

The demoralizing influence of degenerate Europeans has brought several women into disgrace (p. 350 /unassigned/). To understand this we must realize that these unfortunate persons are no longer guarded and warned by the tribe as a whole, which must be regarded as already disintegrated. Today they have no possibility of marrying again, and the constant enticing temptation finally breaks down the last resistance of their honest sentiments. It would be wrong to blame the child-rearing principles themselves, for in contrast to these very few delinquencies, one can point to the virtuousness and soundness of by far the greater majority of the people as a whole. Missionaries, as well as many travelers, speak of the most pleasant surprises and gratifying observations. I myself have learned to appreciate many of them as quite superior human beings and as exacting, reliable persons; I even sincerely love a few of them as true, valuable friends. This is the result of the influence of others in training them and of

/752 cont./

tireless self-education. Everyone has faults and deficiencies, which no one will deny and the work of those who train young people is admittedly sometimes difficult and painful, but the level of general morality is high and social virtues are abundantly practiced.

Finally we should not overlook the importance these simple people give to the living example. The elders have no illusions about the fact that the success of training presupposes the training of teachers. They avoid gross infractions and serious transgressions before the eyes of their children, for such mistakes /753/ would seriously undermine and thoroughly destroy what they have laboriously built up. At the same time they strive as much as possible to behave irreproachably and to assure themselves of praise as "good and industrious human beings," esteemed as admirable tribal members. Much sound wisdom about life is revealed to every outside observer who studies the educative work of our Fuegians without prejudice.

3. Girls during the Menarche

Parents continue training their own children until the first or second youth initiation, for children do not marry until directly after this experience. Only those children who show a certain mental maturity are admitted to the ~~ciexaus~~ Kina A. By that time they are a few years beyond puberty. Hence, without exception, the girl's menarche comes before her entrance into the youth initiation. The former event seems so important to the society as a whole that it feels justified in subjecting the child to its own treatment, beyond the parental influence, for it is to the advantage of the whole tribe to have one more girl who has concluded her development. Hence the tribe decisively asserts its power and guarantees for itself this new member for the preservation of the people as a whole.

The habits and qualifications desired for a Yamana girl in connection with her first menstruation are interwoven without any trouble in the parental upbringing. For practical reasons we shall add to all this an account of how women conduct themselves during their monthly menses.

/774 cont./

593 861 Since they are sincere, they take pains as teachers so that the child's happiness in life is assured. They can even be severe and relentless, not because they enjoy tormenting him, but because weaknesses of character that appear in early years must be removed as soon as possible (205). Parental training is oriented

205. Hyades (g):38 specifically mentions: "Girls and boys, by the way, are very well treated, even though their parents do not act as tenderly with them as parents do in *Europe*."

by the traditions of the tribe as to what is good and necessary. Accordingly, the Fuegian principles of child training are altogether moral.

Our natives know very well that with youth the example is more effective than the word and, conversely, that the former can cause much greater harm than can be remedied by the latter. Hence adults consciously conduct themselves as irreproachably as possible in the presence of children. The older people, especially, in contrast to men and women of younger years, are sometimes painfully exact about this. They rigidly control themselves and display astonishing self-discipline in order that their conduct will not weaken the warning and instructive words that they addressed to the young people in their day; successful training presupposes self-training.

867 I often observed that children were sent from the hut under a harmless pretext whenever the men were getting ready to tell risqué stories. On such an occasion, after the last boy had disappeared from the hut, old Alfredo whispered in my ear: /775/ "The children must not know that we enjoy smutty stories, otherwise they would like hearing them just as much as we do!" One evening red wine, sáfa, was freely dispensed and had such a powerful effect on an older woman that in her tipsiness she began to behave improperly. Immediately the adults removed all the children, and while this was going on Mary said to me: "If the children saw how that woman behaves, they would become bad. That is why we send them away!" Children probably never hear crude

/776 cont./

861 The characteristic quality of the relationship between parents and children in Tierra del Fuego is sincere love and warm affection. The children display respect and confidence. In their training procedures nothing diverts the parents from what they regard as duty and necessity. I often and carefully observed them in this respect. I was most struck by how well they are able to control themselves and how much patience they have with their children, along with all the firmness. Fuegian teachers have an almost inexhaustible forbearance, and they never tire of pointing out mistakes to their small offspring or often repeating urgent advice. Santiago, who was inclined to be somewhat irascible, quietly and emphatically talked to a regular rascal for about ten minutes and dismissed him with the words: "I have often warned you, and I shall not stop doing so until you stop being naughty!" Then he added confidentially to me: "Children will be children; it takes a long time to get anywhere with them by talking, but one succeeds if he does not give up and is always well-meaning." Adults instantly react to obvious faults and occasional infractions; they even give whippings, but this seldom happens.

593 Parents and children, naturally bound together most closely and almost exclusively dependent on one another because of the nature of their economy, are held together by the bonds of sincere love and warm affection. Their happiness in life is in being together and caring for one another. Outside, the storm may be howling and shaking the frail hut, living conditions may be as poor as can be, and for long weeks there may be no other companions, but if the parents and children are all together, they are happy. In the bosom of his own family everyone feels protected and safe; the family guarantees the well-being of the individual. If one sees parents and children together, he can see shining from their /777/ eyes the trust that flourishes in the soil of a family arrangement destined by nature. Parental happiness and childhood paradise in the Indian family thrown back on its own resources: these are the brightest spots in the threatening climatic turbulence and the frosty unfriendliness of Tierra del Fuego.

/841 cont./
leather strap so tightly around him that he cannot move his limbs, and leave him lying a half day or longer at the smaller exit, the so-called alâin. At the same time, of course, he gets nothing to eat or drink. This effective measure never fails. Finally, the guard's assistants have the habit of suddenly emerging singly in front of the Great Hut with the leather strap in hand simply to intimidate the people in the dwellings by their threatening attitude. Their appearance is not without effect on the children.

They, as well as the winefkéxa, have a definite call, familiar to everyone. It is a short ho ho ho..., repeated several times on the same high tone. At night the guard gives this a particularly threatening inflection to warn old and young against approaching in the dark.

The two huts, as well as the guard duty, have now been prepared. Meanwhile the individual families have arrived at the site of the festivities and have built their dwellings. There is nothing more to hinder the opening of the planned ceremony following the traditional arrangements.

c. Procedure of the Ceremony

All previous reports have made it sufficiently clear that the initiation of Yamana youth is by no means merely training for the actual candidates. Far beyond that it is also an affair for adults, offering all kinds of special features. This latter subordinate goal does not overshadow the main goal, nor does it hinder its attainment. Rather, both, at first glance, seem necessarily bound together, although basically they are far apart. It takes little effort for each participant to separate the arrangements and activities that serve either the one goal or the other, but in order to /842/ obtain an over-all picture of the variety making up the čiéxaus celebration and to take account of all the details, I have arranged them in the following report according to general points of view and describe them as individual aspects of the whole. Thus they can be definitely judged and fairly evaluated according to their individual worth.

In this connection, of course, the treatment of the candidates takes up the most space. It deserves this for its own sake. For

/842 cont./

X881 861 example, we are amazed at the soundness of the training skills of these simple, misunderstood Fuegians, which is shown particularly in the initiation. It also shows the simple means with which these primitive people attain a lofty educational goal, for these means have been chosen and wisely applied on the basis of an unprejudiced observation of human nature. The čiéxaus need counteract neither a general nor a temporary miseducation of youth, for parental rearing is good and reliable throughout (262).

> 262. The principles upon which parental training has been built (p. 555) are, of course, also recognized and enlarged upon in the initiation, but the instruction there never makes any specific reference in so many words to these principles. They do not say: "Your father has already told you this" or "When you were small you were already forbidden to do this."

This simplifies the efforts of the elders in training the uswāala and the method is almost completely unified. Along with it, however, there is a strictly personal approach in influencing one child or another, hence an altogether individual training according to the character and spiritual needs of this or that candidate. It is chiefly in the actual precepts for young people that our Yamana reveal a valuable and wise philosophy of life which many generations have developed.

X881 867 The čiéxaus celebration is so popular for adults and always strongly attracts them to the place where it is held because fortunately this affair to a large extent satisfies the need of everyone for society and the exchange of ideas. Everyone's expectations are fulfilled on these occasions, but this is not the end of the matter. More than this, as may be seen at first glance, a strong desire grips these simple primitive people to consider thoughtfully once again their traditional tribal heritage, once more to revive the old customs (263), to recall the precepts and admonitions that

> 263. Here we may definitely state that certain old myths may be told only during the initiation.

/866 cont./

881 supposed to meditate deeply on what has been presented to them
867 [by the teacher]!" When the latter has ended his address, the
537 candidates return to their places and there they crouch thoughtfully for many hours before they may lie down to sleep. The adults, too, give themselves up to serious mental concentration, for there are no dances or games afterward.

881 In the common instruction the candidates are, of course,
867 offered all the rules of conduct which are universally binding.
861 The people are not content with this in the čiéxaus, however, since many participants have for some time observed faults, bad behavior, weaknesses, and shortcomings in one or another candidate and have been obliged to tolerate them angrily. Hence strictly personal training of the individual begins. The nearest kinsmen undertake this task, which is certainly not easy. First one and then another of them will squat beside the candidate, as they feel inspired or on the basis of observations which they themselves have made during the day. Each of them /867/ begins with a searching talk. He adds warnings and is not sparing with threats. He points out clearly and comprehensibly to the uš̌wā́ala the weaknesses which have been observed in him in connection with some other circumstance. Everything is clearly mentioned by name and seriously censured: laziness and dullness, an aversion to work and a distraught manner, irritability and quarrelsomeness, a tendency to pilfer and untruthfulness, a greedy manner of eating and bumptiousness, impertinent interruption of adults and mocking words about aged people. Those of the adults who have previously objected to one thing or another without seeing results now intensify their threats. One adult will also join with another in order to reach their goal, and together they influence the uš̌wā́ala.

Wherever possible they apply appropriate measures. They will often withhold food from a glutton and will say: "You must learn to forgo all excess!" Someone who is clumsy is often called upon to do small chores; they try to combat laziness with particularly difficult assignments. The adults make an effort to wipe out faults and vices with these and other effective measures. They will thoroughly take to task an uš̌wā́ala who is regarded as headstrong and obstinate.

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881 861 The čiéxaus training is designed to enrich the candidates mentally, to discipline their character, and to give them manual skill. It attains this goal through weeks of effort and tenacious persistence. The young people, after the conclusion of this training, begin a life of self-sufficiency and independence from the parental family by establishing their own household. They have been reliably prepared to fulfill their important duties as husband and wife, as father and mother, as full-fledged members of the tribe. For its part, the community can now have full confidence in the new family which will soon be founded. This richly rewards the old people for all their care and efforts for the uswála, since the perpetuation of the prevailing way of life and the dominant principles seems assured. The entire training process itself with its many individual aspects is also pleasing to the European; effective training methods are employed in beautiful proportion, without torture, repulsive harshness, and cruel brutality. The clarified, purely natural element in the training skills of our Fuegians has given them very fine and sure results throughout the centuries and up to the present time.

4. Daily Program for the Adults

881 182 Obviously the čiéxaus institution is thought of first of all as a vitally important schooling of the candidates. In any event the need of the members of the tribe for social life is fully taken into account, and the consciousness of their solidarity is strengthened anew.

It is undeniable that, aside from all other considerations, the adults at certain intervals are seized by an inner urge "to celebrate the youth initiation once again!" This, and in no other way, is how they show their strong determination to hold fast to the old tradition, to renew themselves in it, and to hand it on in its entirety to the growing generation. Consciously and unconsciously they are governed by the power of the good things of old. That is why they do not let the čiéxaus secret sink into oblivion; they safeguard it from the disrespectful eyes of Europeans and, even today, fight off as much as possible every relaxation of the buttressing principles.

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1. Gatherings

571 593 521 From previous accounts the Yamana is known to be a person who has himself under perfect control and who usually behaves in a very /1472/ reserved manner in the company of others (p. 914). This attitude is not determined solely by mistrust of others and the traditional rules for social intercourse (p. 913); it is far more a natural characteristic of our Indians, to which their training, of course, contributes its share. Within the family circle every member is very reserved and taciturn. For hours at a time individuals will sit beside each other in the canoe or in the hut without exchanging a word. If they chat with one another now and then, their talk almost always centers around what the present day has brought. Loud gaiety and spontaneous outbursts of joy are more or less rare within the individual family. Nevertheless, many a father will amuse himself with his young sons and many an active mother will do the same with her daughters in every conceivable way. Parents really enjoy playing with their young children and fondle them very lovingly from the day they are born (p.513).

593 861 521 As soon as children have some understanding, the parents confide in them about their own experiences and the knowledge derived from it, as well as much of their religious and mythological belief. In this way the children obtain a rich heritage of ideas and learn to think about it when they are alone. In the evening after the long day's journey, the parents, squatting around the hut fire or stretched out on their hard beds, repeat in detail just about everything that the day has brought. They make comparisons and recall other things, confirm this thing and warn about that, discuss their plans for the morrow, and toy with hopes for the future. This is the particular kind of social life, maintained within narrow (in fact, the narrowest) limits, that the Fuegian family can offer them.

571 521 On a land or canoe trip individual persons usually pass each other without stopping; both parties are content with a brief greeting, a modest question and an equally brief answer (p.921). If, however, several families of friends or relatives brought together by chance after a long separation are camping together, there is great liveliness in the group. The greeting of two friends is sometimes loud and impulsive, and on such an occasion the discussion

844 herself and the infant in the sea, and the mother usually took sea baths for some days thereafter. For some time before and after a child's birth the mother and father observed certain food and other taboos. A form of couvade obtained, especially in the case of a first [846] child, the father remaining quiet in the tent and abstaining from most work for some days while relatives and friends supplied the family with necessities. The placenta was burned; the navel cord, dried and kept.

Marital relations were avoided for about 6 weeks or more after [862] delivery. Weaning ordinarily took place after 10 to 15 months, but in some cases not until a good deal later. The child was commonly [551] named after its birthplace.

Education.—Corporal punishment was rare. Severer correction 861 was ordinarily verbal, or else took the form of sending the child out of the hut for the day. A great deal of moralizing counsel was given the growing child by elders, counsel not always received with eager alertness by him, to judge from one of the instructions stressed in the initiation rite; viz, to listen attentively to what his elders told him even when the sermon was long drawn out. The sexes were kept separated after about the 7th year.

841 **Girls' puberty observances.**—At her first menses, the girl fasted, 881 eating little or nothing, for 3 days. Both cheeks from the eyes down were painted with red radiating streaks. Older women gave her much moral counsel. On the 8th or 10th day she bathed and washed in the sea. At the end, a feast was given to all the members of the group.

881 **The čiéxaus initiation rite.**—This rite (Koppers, 1924, pp. 45–95; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 805–961), for both boys and girls together, and actively participated in by all their elders who had previously been initiated, was the most important native ceremony, the focal point, in a sense, of their religious life, a dynamic stay of social order and solidarity. It was likewise an intensive training course, constituting the climactic event in the native educational system.

This initiation rite, the čiéxaus, under the auspices, it seems, of the local group, rather than of the dialectic division or whole *Yahgan* tribe, was held not at stated seasons or intervals, but as need or occasion arose, yearly or more or less often than yearly. It could last from several days to several months. The candidates were boys and girls who had reached puberty.

The chosen officers in charge of the rite were a leader, a mentor, and guards. A special large hut, of oval beehive or conical construc- [346] tion, was used, with simple decorations in the way of red, white, and black painting on the framework inside and similarly painted oblong boards hung up. Each participant wore a special diademlike feather